

Part 1/10

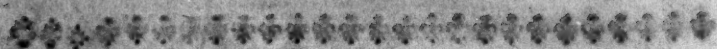
1/10



A SERIOUS
EXHORTATION
TO THE
ELECTORS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.



[Price One Shilling.]



A SERIOUS

EXHORTATION

TO THE

ELECTORS



GREYHOUND



[Price One Shilling]

A SERIOUS
EXHORTATION
TO THE *K Great Britain*
ELECTORS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN:

WHEREIN

The IMPORTANCE of the approaching
ELECTIONS is particularly proved
from our present Situation both at *Home*
and *Abroad*.

*Ut jugulent Hominem surgunt de Nocte Latrones.
Ut Teipsum servas, non expergisceris?*

HOR.

*Remember, O my Friends, the Laws, the Rights,
The gen'rous Plan of Pow'r, deliver'd down
From Age to Age by your renown'd Fore-fathers,
So dearly bought, the Price of so much Blood;
O let it never perish in your Hands,
But piously transmit it to your Children.*

CATO.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in
Pater-Noster-Row. MDCCXL.

A SERIOUS
EXHORTATION
TO THE
ELECTORS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

WHEREIN

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE APPROACHING
ELECTIONS IS PARTICULARLY PROVED
FROM OUR CONSTITUTION BOTH AT HOME
AND ABROAD.



By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum
Printed by the Trustees of the British Museum
1801.

Remember, O my Friends, the Nation, the Rights,
The great and Plain of Power, deliver'd down
From Age to Age by your Forefathers;
No dearer bought, the Price of so much Blood;
O let it never perish in your Hands.
But piety's reward is in your Conscience.

Cato.

LONDON:
Printed for T. Cooper, at the Globe in
Peter-Ngher-Road. MDCCXII.



A SERIOUS
EXHORTATION
TO THE
ELECTORS of *Great Britain*.

Countrymen and Fellow Subjects,



Crisis of Time is now approaching, the most important to the *British* Nation, and the most deserving of your serious Attention, that perhaps was ever known in this Country; a Crisis, on the Events of which not only our Trade, our Honour and our Safety from Foreign Enemies will depend, but the Preservation of that Liberty at home, which is the first Support of the others, and by which only they become valuable to us.

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THE War we are now engag'd in must convince you of the one, as must the State of our domestick Affairs, if considered, of the other.

HITHERTO, during the long Delegacy of a Septennial Parliament, you have not had it in your Power to apply any Remedy to those Grievances you may have thought call'd loudly for Redress; but as now that Delegacy will shortly be resum'd again into your own Hands, every Thing will once more depend upon yourselves, who may then confer that Trust on such only whose Sentiments shall be agreeable to your own, on whose Wisdom and Prudence you can rely, and of whose Disinterestedness and Independance you shall be perfectly assur'd.

YOU must be all sensible, how much the well conducting of a War must be owing to the wise and steady Councils of a considerate and uncorrupt Parliament. They have the first and principal Right, as the Grand Council of the Nation, to offer their Advice in any Point they shall think conducive to that End; they are the Judges of the upright or wicked Measures, the wise or weak Conduct of those more immediately concerned in its Management.

nagement. But above all, as they are to determine what Expences shall be deem'd necessary, they have it in their Power to grant or refuse those Supplies to the Government, which are the Support and Sinews of every War; hence it becomes the Wisdom of Parliament to exert a fatherly Concern and Tenderneſs for thoſe Inconveniencies which every People muſt neceſſarily labour under in War; that as they ought cheerfully to furniſh the neceſſary Supplies without Niggardneſs on the one Hand; ſo, on the other Hand, they ought to pay the ſtricteſt Regard and Obſervance to Oeconomy. It is a moſt neceſſary Duty of Parliament to diſcourage the leaſt Step towards Prodigality and Profuſeneſs: It is a moſt neceſſary Duty diligently to ſearch out the moſt frugal Methods of Eſtabliſhment on all Occaſions of publick Expence, and to be careful that whatever Measures the Emergency of Affairs may make neceſſary to be taken, they may be ſuch, and executed in ſuch a Manner, as ſhall be as little burthenſome and oppreſſive as poſſible. It indiſpenſably behoves them, to let thoſe uſeful and deſerving Subjects, our Traders, ſee, that they are not wantonly inconvenienced at home, nor willingly or negli-

gently unprotected at Sea ; as well as to convince the landed Part of this Nation, that their Supplies are not squander'd in *Jobs*, or by careless and unskilful Management, but discreetly laid out by the Hands of provident, able, and well-discerning Stewards of the Publick Revenue. Then will the People, who are always most eminently zealous for their own Honour, chearfully comply with what is impos'd on them, when satisfy'd of its Necessity, and that it will be laid out for their Advantage. This only will add a Strength and Support to Arms, which nothing can lessen ; this will make our Determinations carry a Terror to our Enemies, and gain them a Reverence and Respect from every Nation in *Europe*.

BUT as all Considerations of Wealth, Credit and Power from abroad, interesting as they seem to be, are still but secondary ones to the Preservation of our Liberty at Home, without which they lose their Value, as they lose their Security ; I shall here beg leave principally to lay before you your Situation at home, the regulating of which may soon more immediately be in your own Power ; and I shall add a few Words hereafter, to shew you how much
your

your domestick Welfare is connected with your Success, Prosperity and Glory abroad.

THE first Point therefore that requires your Attention is, whether that Liberty and those Rights, which have been formerly contended for and vindicated with the Loss of so much Blood, stand on so firm and solid a Basis, as to be in no Danger, either of being thrown down by Force, or undermin'd by Art.

IN particular, to go back to a Point of Time in which our Rights were most justly asserted, and a Recognition of them more explicitly obtain'd, you are to consider, (as it has been often recommended to you) whether the Ends of that Revolution have been arriv'd at and preserv'd, or whether they have not been, tho' not openly violated, at least cunningly and basely frustrated and eluded.

IN Disquisitions of this Nature, you are particularly to guard against being deluded by false Appearances, or amus'd by Words; it is this Deception that has been more the Bane of Liberty, than the utmost open Force that Tyranny has been able

able to exert; *Speciosa verbis re inania*
& subdola, (says *Tacitus*;) *& quanto ma-*
jore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto
eruptura ad infensus servitium. Slavery
 is a Spectre too hideous and ghastly not
 to terrify when appearing in its own
 naked Deformity, and can seldom be ad-
 mitted but under a borrow'd Shape.

THE Court, ever grasping at new
 Power, either thro' the mistaken Ambi-
 tion of former Kings, or the interested
 Persuasions of Favourites and Ministers,
 has often try'd the utmost of Force and
 Violence to reduce, under the Subjection
 of its own Will, the Lives and Fortunes
 of the People of *England*; but as often
 as these Attempts have been made or re-
 new'd, so often have they been defeated
 by the Spirit and Perseverance of our An-
 cestors; and frequently prov'd fatal, not
 only to those Ministers who advis'd them,
 but even to such Kings themselves as have
 been thus unhappily deluded and persuad-
 ed. From hence, as Experience has long
 since convinc'd every one of the Impossi-
 bility of establishing arbitrary Power in
 its first Instances by Force, in this Coun-
 try, so has it suggested not only to crafty
 Politicians, but pointed out to every in-
 telligent

telligent Man, the sole Method of introducing Slavery here, that is, by secret Influence and Corruption.

IT has been therefore a most obvious Remark in the Mouth of every Writer who has treated of the *English* Affairs and Constitution, That this Nation can only be enslav'd by its own Means, by the Perfidy of those intrusted with its Liberties, by its Parliament.

BUT tho' this Truth has been render'd more conspicuous in this Country, by the so often repeated Resistance we have shew'd to all open Attempts of arbitrary Power; yet it is not a Truth wholly confin'd to this Country, but has been more or less evident in all the free Nations of *Europe*, that have been since reduc'd under the Yoke of Slavery. *Rome* kept up its Form of Government long after its Liberty was lost; *eadem magistratum vocabula* were still preserv'd; a corrupt and adulating Senate serv'd to countenance the most vile and bloody Designs of a *Tiberius* or a *Nero*: And indeed it is a Maxim of the most penetrating and subtle Genius that has ever written on Politicks, That whoever would alter the
Con-

Constitution of a State must by all Means
preserve it's outward Form.

SINCE therefore it appears, that we
can never become less free but by ig-
nominiously betraying our own Liberty,
let us a little reflect by what Means that
may be brought about: As then it will
be evident, that this can only be accom-
plish'd by two Methods, either by an in-
discreet or corrupt Choice of our Repre-
sentatives, in whose Hands we trust our
Liberty, or by the corrupt and treache-
rous Conduct of such Representatives
when chosen into Parliament; it ne-
cessarily follows, that it is of the highest
Importance to this Nation in the first
Place, to prevent as much as possible,
all Means of undue Influence and Cor-
ruption; and in the next Place, to intrust
such as Representatives only, whose Cha-
racters, whose Integrity, and whose For-
tunes will exempt them from all Danger
of either.

To secure the House of Commons
from all indirect Influence of the Crown,
has been thought so necessary to the Pre-
servation of this Constitution, that the

At-

tention of the Legislature has been often employ'd for the Prevention of so dangerous an Evil; and a Clause was inserted in the Act of Settlement to incapacitate such Men, as held Places under the Crown, from sitting in the House of Commons. That Clause has been since alter'd, and now extends only to a Re-election. Whatever might have made the Qualifying of that Clause in some degree necessary, of this I am most certain, that the Admission of Place-Men on the Foot it now stands, will be attended with certain Destruction to the Constitution, as must appear obvious to the Reflection of every Man, who with Impartiality considers its Consequences.

THERE are at present in the House of Commons alone about 234 Persons, who are publicly known to receive in Employments from the Crown (†) 212956 Pounds *per Annum*. How far that is consistent with the Independency of that House, I will leave to your own Judgment to determine. If I am told, the Honour and Integrity of those Gentlemen preserve them from all danger of undue Influence, as I am not at Liberty to contradict it here, I shall refer you to be determin'd in that Point by their Conduct.

C

You

(†) *Vide List of the Convention.*

You will judge, whether their unanimous Support of the present Minister in every Measure for these twenty Years is a proof of their Independency; you will judge, whether a constant Approbation of *standing Armies, Votes of Credit, Excises and Conventions*, ought to persuade you of their Integrity. You will likewise examine, whether the most implicit Compliance with the Will of the Minister is not made the only Tenure by which these Emoluments are secur'd to them. Of this you will form your Opinions with better ground, when you enquire into the Causes of the late Dismission of several Personages of the most known Abilities and Attachment to the present Establishment, from Offices as well Military as Civil. *

But so considerable a Part of the People of *England*, having already manifested

* We have an affecting, tho' ridiculous Instance, how weak a tenure Integrity has been generally thought for a Placeman, in a Story told by the famous Mr. Sydney, which I can't help repeating here, of
 " a noble Person in his Time, who being a great
 " Enemy to *Bribery* was turn'd out of a considerable Post as a Scandal to the Court; For, said the
 " principal Minister, *He will make no Profit of his*
 " *Place, and by that Means casts a Scandal on those*
 " *that do.*

their

their Sentiments for the Necessity of limiting the exorbitant Number of Placemen in the H. of Common it is needless to enforce it here, and the Manner a Bill for that Purpose was lately rejected, is become a most strengthening and additional Argument in its Favour.

THE little Success the Remonstrances of many of you, have had on that head, and the Slight they were affectedly treated with, will I hope be very far from Discouraging your Exertion of the same Right against the next Meeting of Parliament: And here I should hold myself ungrateful as a Fellow-Subject, were I to pass by this Opportunity of mentioning with Honour and Esteem the shining Example our great Metropolis set forth to us last Year, and lately also on this Occasion, as well as the noble Zealand Spirit she has manifested on every other for the publick Honour and Liberty. In this she has shewn herself sensible, that *Liberty is the Soul of Commerce*. And as she herself composes so very large a Part of this Nation, and must be more particularly interested in whatever befalls it, she has ever been look'd upon with most distinguish'd Regard in former Reigns, when she has not only

offer'd her Sentiments on publick Occasions, but has been particularly apply'd to, and has had a Deference shew'd to her Opinions, in many Instances I could produce, by the greatest of our Princes : And as she has ever stood foremost and undaunted in the Cause of Liberty, so has her Conduct seldom or ever fail'd of being attended with Success.

To instruct your Representatives, my Countrymen, on any Occasion you think proper, is not only a Right the Electors of *Britain* have ever enjoy'd, but the late Alteration in the Constitution of Parliaments, by the prolonging them for seven Years, has made the Exercise of such a Right more particularly expedient : For as the Trust you repose in them is of so long a Continuance, and not to be revoked by you, tho' ever so much abus'd, and employ'd even to your Disadvantage, it is undeniably necessary that you should have the Privilege of laying before them your Sentiments on any matter, the Importance of which you shall judge to require this publick Intimation of them : And tho' perhaps they are not implicitly ty'd down to a Compliance with your Instructions, yet when they again become

Candi-

Candidates for the same Trust, you are then to examine from what Motives their Noncompliance proceeded; and if from any not perfectly and most clearly justifiable, it becomes the highest Aggravation of their ill Conduct, as on the other Side their good Conduct must carry with it an additional Weight in every Proceeding when back'd with the Voice of their Constituents and of the whole People of *England*. But if (my Countrymen) these your so just and necessary Efforts cannot prevail next Sessions for obtaining a Place-bill, you will shortly as Electors of *Great Britain* have it in your Power to make the most effectual Law against filling the House of Commons with Placemen, by making Independence in your Candidates the Rule of your Choice.

I SHALL confine myself no longer to Arguments for what you already seem to think of so properly; but I shall call your Attention to a Consideration of the general State you are in, that, by seeing the Danger that on all Sides surrounds us, you may be able to point out the Remedy to yourselves, when convinc'd how much your Safety depends on it.

It

It is become the common Cant Argument of the Ministerial Advocates, when they would extol the Happiness of the present Times, and the Security of Liberty under this Administration, to assert that no Act of Power, no violent Exercise of Prerogative is now ever exerted; and on this Assertion they greatly triumph over all our just Complaints against the present State of Things; yet, weak as these Arguments are, they are such by which many mistaken Men are willingly impos'd on, and gladly deceive themselves. But as Power, however arriv'd at, is the same when once obtain'd, the large Increase of Weight in the Crown, and the Influence it has found means to acquire both over the People and in Parliament, by the Means of the Parliament itself, has made those once hazardous Instances of the violent Exertion of Power wholly unnecessary.

AMONGST other Instances, the keeping up a standing Army in time of Peace was not long since consider'd as one of those mischievous Exertions of Power, and is accordingly declar'd unlawful by the Bill of Rights: But we have since seen eigh-

teen

teen thousand Men, a Number never attempted before, voted necessary by Parliament during many Years of the most profound Peace. Was this less a standing Army? was it less dangerous in its Consequences? was it less at the Devotion of the Crown? You all can answer these Questions to yourselves. But, by the leave of the ministerial Advocates, I must still add, that there are yet some few Instances where the straining of Power has been found requisite to the Designs of their Patrons, when they have not been sparing in putting it in practice.

THO' the Complaisance of Parliaments have furnish'd the Crown with both Wealth and Power whenever it has been desir'd, yet it has still remain'd a Privilege of the Subject to pass his publick Judgment on Measures, to point out where he thinks they have been carried on wrong, to shew Mankind the dangerous Tendency of them, to exhort them to the lawful Means of obtaining a Remedy, and to apprize them against any future Inconveniences they may be brought under; all this the Freedom of the Press allows us, a
Freedom

Freedom that I hope will ever remain unrestrain'd, notwithstanding the infamous Artifices of late design'd against this *Palladium* of our Liberties.

THIS Freedom of the Press, with what Severity, with what Rigour has it not been treated? What Exertion of Power has not been try'd to deter Men from the Use of it?

Is it not a violent Exertion of Power, to break up the Press of a poor Printer, which he has set at great Expence, to rife his Shop by seizing and destroying his Papers, his Letters, and other Instruments of his Profession, on the bare Warrant of a Secretary of State, issued without any Information on Oath made against him, and when upon Enquiry there even appears not sufficient Matter to ground a Prosecution on? Is not such a Treatment, to inflict the most arbitrary Punishment, before Conviction? Is this consistent with the boasted Freedom of an *English* Subject? But if it so happens that a Prosecution is resolved on, how is he then proceeded against? Not by a Bill of Indictment

ment brought against him before a Grand Jury ; by whom, if it was not found, he would be immediately acquitted without further Cost, but by a novel, (and I will say a very oppressive) Manner of Proceeding, an Information is fil'd against him by the Attorney General, and, if ever so innocent, he must be at the Expence of a Trial, perhaps destructive to himself and Family, as no Costs can be given him where the Crown is made a Party. Is not the former Part of the foregoing Instance an unwarrantable Strain of Power? is not the latter, tho' pretended to be not illegal, extremely grievous, and liable to the most dangerous Abuse? Will not a Treatment of this Kind be sufficient to deter a Printer from venturing on the Publication of any Thing, which may thus expose him to the Resentment of those in Power? and will not the Publick by these Practices be most effectually depriv'd of all Information, which by this Means only can be convey'd to them?

D

If

If we look back since the Revolution was establish'd, we shall find the Power of the Crown greatly increas'd by several Acts, and the Freedom of the People much subjected, and sometimes explicitly restrain'd; it will not be disputed, but that the multiplying of Penal Laws, ought to be avoided in a Free State, unless urged by the most apparent Necessity. But such has been the Temper and Wisdom of the present Times, that there has been double the Number of Felonies enacted in the present Reign, and the late one of K. *George* the First, than in the four preceding Reigns of *Charles* the Second, *James* the Second, K. *William* and Q. *Anne*, fertile, as some of them were, of capital Prosecutions. Let us join to these Considerations the great Diligence and Art, that has been used of late Years by the Adherents to the present Administration, in every Bill that has been brought into Parliament, of throwing new Powers and Influence into the Crown, by the Creation of new Officers, or the extending the Authority of such as are already appointed by it; so that
 it

it is become a Misfortune notorious, and most greatly to be lamented in this Country, that no Bill for the Redress of Grievances already felt, or for procuring any new Advantages to the Community, or any Part of it, can be propos'd, but there is Reason to dread some Poison may be infused, some Venom may lurk, under those salutary Appearances: Some new Powers are to be lodg'd, some little gaining to the Civil List is to be made, a new Place is to be erected, or the Jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace extended.

AND however useful a Magistrate to his Country a Justice of Peace may truly be said to be, while his Authority is properly circumserib'd, yet will it be attended with the most dangerous Consequences, if too large a discretionary Power should be intrusted in the Hands of Men entirely nominated by the Crown; especially if it ever becomes our Case to see the one recommending Qualification to that Office shall be only Party-Attachment, and a servile Compliance in promoting the Interest of a Minister in Elections of Members

to serve in Parliament; which it is obvious, when Men shall be found corrupt enough to prostitute the Influence of their Authority to such Purposes, they have it too much in their Power by many Methods to perform.

THE Integrity of those, whose Duty it is to recommend to his Majesty, Gentlemen whose Fortunes and Characters point them out as proper to exercise that Office in their several Counties, should give us no Room to doubt of any partial Distribution of the Commission of the Peace, or that any other Views interfere in this Distribution than the supporting of Justice, and preserving good Order in the Kingdom: But at the same time, I own, I am greatly at a Loss to account how several Gentlemen of the most eminent Fortunes, the most unquestion'd Loyalty and distinguish'd Reputation, as in many of them appears from the Confidence their several Counties repose in them, that of representing them in Parliament; I say, when I look round into many of the Counties of *England*, I am greatly at a Loss to imagine, how
such

such Gentlemen came to be forgot in the late Commissions of Peace; for I cannot persuade myself they can have been excluded from thus serving their Countries, but thro' Forgetfulness or Mistake: At this my Astonishment is increas'd, when I behold in the same Counties Men of the most narrow in-cumber'd Fortunes, and in the lowest Esteem of their Neighbours exercising that important Commission: This is a Point, my Countrymen, I must not decide here; it falls within the Reach and daily Observation of every one of you, and I hope will not be pass'd by without that Consideration which it merits.

THE Establishment of the publick Funds has alone put the Constitution of this Kingdom on a very different footing from what it was formerly, and has thrown an immense Weight into the Scale on the Government's Side, unknown to our Ancestors, which by the Management of a wicked Minister may be made the most fatal Use of: And the Collection of those Revenues appropriated to the Payment of the Interest
and

and Discharge of that great National Debt, contracted in the late general and necessary War, occasions the Employment of an incredible Number of Officers, at an immense Expence, who are wholly at the Devotion of the Court, and in whose Promotion, if artfully made with a View to a Parliamentary Interest, a great Part of the Electors of *Great Britain* must be more or less interested.

WHEN we look round us, and reflect on all the other numerous and great Employments at the Disposal of the Court, on the vast Number of military Officers requir'd in the large Army that has all along been kept up, insomuch as I will venture to say there is hardly a Family of any Distinction in the Kingdom, who has not a Relation, if not in a Civil, at least in a Military Capacity depending on the Court, and few Freeholders in any County, or Voters in a Corporation, who have not some Friend or Relation in a little Employment; I say when we reflect on this apparent undeniable Truth, can any Man think our so much boasted equal-balanc'd Constitution still subsists? rather ought he not
to

to treat with Indignation those, who, by asserting it, would thus lull us into Slavery by so gross, so insolent an Imposition on our Understanding and Senses?

THE vast Increase of the Civil List, which the Complaisance of the late Parliaments have thought proper to make, is another dangerous Accession of Strength and Independance to the Crown. Wealth and Power generally go hand in hand; and if ever an enterprizing Prince should arise, or a weak one govern'd by a Minister, whose whole Support must be in Corruption; if such a Prince should arise, possess'd of a Revenue for Life, of near a Million *Sterling*, it will be entirely in his Power to corrupt the very Fountains of Liberty. This so immense a Revenue was not very long since sufficient almost to defray the whole Expences of the State, as well as those of the Royal Family: And here I cannot but take notice of the disadvantageous Manner to the Publick, in which the Civil List is settled, that is, by the Appropriation of certain Taxes for the Payment of it, which how much soever they exceed (as may be demonstrated to be greatly the Case) the Sum nominated to

to be settled, and which the Publick is oblig'd at all Events to make good, yet no Retribution of the Overplus is ever to be made : From whence this Mischief must infallibly arise, that if any Redress of a Grievance, by which some Branch of the Civil List is increas'd, should arise, a Minister who only regards this pecuniary Interest will never agree to promote such Redress, but use all his Influence to obstruct the obtaining any, unless he can market the Grievance by a Compensation of a larger Sum, even when the Civil List would still more than amount to the Sum specified, nay be a Gainer in another shape by the Bargain, as was evidently the Case in the late Gin-Bill.

LET us add to all the fore-mentioned Considerations, the formidable Army that has been kept up amongst us during the most profound Peace, and which even at this time in its present Numbers is far from seeming necessary to me ; we have now about sixty thousand Men in the Pay of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, tho' engag'd only in a Naval War with *Spain*.

AND

AND here I must take notice to you of the Reproach and Insult offer'd not only to the People of *Great Britain*, but to his Majesty and his Family, by the Advocates for the standing Army: Base Wretches! to load thus their Fellow-Subjects with Scandal, and the Master they serve with Reproach; who charge the whole Nation with Disaffection, a Spirit of Tumult and Riot; who pay his Majesty the ill Compliment to suppose, that his Safety consists not in the Affections of his Subjects, but the Number of his Troops: who would prove by their Assertions, that instead of having reconciled the Hearts of the *English* by the Lenity of their Government, and their Care for their Welfare, this Royal Family every Day more and more estranges the good Will and Fidelity of their Subjects; that thrice the Number of Troops is necessary for the Security of the Royal Family, after having had so long time to convince the Nation of the Advantages of the present Succession, that was thought sufficient to support K. W. while a Stranger to these Kingdoms, tho' the ABDICATED KING was still living, supported by the most powerful Princes of *Europe*, inveterate Enemies to K. W.

E

WHAT

WHAT could the most bigotted Foes to his Majesty invent more to his Dishonour, more to his Disadvantage? Yet such are the Men who call themselves Friends to Liberty! such are they who impudently boast themselves the Support of the Protestant Succession!

IT has been a most fatal Effect of Party-Contentions in this Country, that as each has been in its Turn oppress'd by the other, the prevailing Side has constantly fortified itself, by throwing Power into the hands of the Crown, on whose Protection it has depended. The Bulk of the People, blindly hurry'd on by Resentment of past ill Usage, have been made the Dupes of wicked and artful Leaders, to furnish them with those Arms against their Enemies, which have afterwards been employed in cutting their own Throats: like the Horse in the Fable, who being insulted by the Stag, implored the Assistance of Man, who took the Opportunity of putting that Bridle in his Mouth, which made him ever afterwards the Slave of his pretended Deliverer; this was the Case formerly at the Restoration. Thence came those extravagant Notions of Regal Power

Power to be reviv'd; thence those severe Restraints on the Consciences of such whose Opinions differ'd from that of the Church, which the Legislature then thought fit to establish. In like manner, have we liv'd to see the pretended Zeal of WHIGS for the Security of the Protestant Succession, carry them into Measures much more destructive to Liberty, than any thing that the Frantick Notions of TORIES could have ever accomplish'd. The one enslaves by Law, the other by its Doctrines, which of course destroy themselves, when put into Practice, by convincing Mankind of their Absurdity.

THE Establishment of the present Royal Family, as it secures to us the Enjoyment both of our Civil and Religious Liberty, is what every *Englishman* ought to have greatly at heart; I say, as it secures those great Blessings to us: For tho' no Man living can more sincerely love, or more truly honour his Majesty and his Family than my self, yet I must consider them as call'd to this Crown not for their own sake, but for the National Advantage. Therefore I affirm, that the Security of no Succession ought to be supported by means

dangerous to those Ends for which alone that Succession was itself establish'd. In reality this can never be the Case; for the Happiness of his Majesty and his People must be inseparable: And this Argument is only pretended by wicked Men to induce weak ones to comply with their Designs. Therefore no Reasons can be urged, which, when consider'd, should weigh with us to come into any Point that directly, or in its remoter Consequences, can be detrimental to the Liberty of the People: For I repeat, that the true Interest of the King and Nation must be the same; but, were it possible to be otherwise, I dare pronounce, That of the People ought to prevail. That Government is instituted for the sake of the Governed, is a Truth too well known now to be contested. The People are not only concern'd to guard against all Innovations in the Constitution, but they have always a Right to demand any Amendment in the Constitution, should they discover any Part defective. Nor indeed could any mix'd Government long subsist free without such a Right: For wherever a Court is, it will in its Effects unavoidably resemble the Sea, or such rapid Streams as will

will always encroach by degrees on some Part of the adjoining Land, which is no sooner defended by proper Mounds in one Place, than the Force of the Current begins to undermine some other less-guarded Place, which soon requires the same Precaution of Defence.

NOR can Prerogative be urged against any Precaution the Publick Good visibly requires; for we are not to understand Prerogative to be any Right virtually and inseparably annex'd to the Prince's Person, merely for his own Aggrandizement; but as a certain Degree of Power, which the Community, for their own Advantage, have thought proper to leave uncircumscribed in his hands, to be applied for their Safety and Utility only, and which they have a Right to retrench in any Part, when made use of to their Prejudice or Destruction.

I HAVE now, my Countrymen, pointed out to you your Situation, and your Rights, as well as my Ability and the Extensiveness of the Subject will allow me in this Place: And if the slight Manner in which I have touched on the foregoing
Topicks,

Topicks, shall but be sufficient to serve as so many Hints for exciting your Attention to consider them fully within your own Minds, a Scene must open itself to your Reflection, much more extensive than any Man can express to you.

ALL Parties of Men will be charged with private Views in their publick Conduct; that many of all Denominations act from such Principles, is unfortunately too true at all times. But what I desire to appeal to are Facts, in themselves good or bad, in their Nature unalterable, and independent of the Views of those who promote or oppose them. But I must observe, for the Honour of some Gentlemen, that I cannot see what greater Pledge they can now possibly give the Publick of their Integrity, than by promoting such Measures as would restrain themselves from an ill Use of Power, if ever they become entrusted with it, in the same manner as they would now restrain those who are too generally thought guilty of such an Abuse. This I am sure of, it is the Interest of the Publick to take advantage, and encourage their present Disposition for Reformation, as it will be their Duty to oppose them, should

should they endeavour to act in a different manner hereafter.

I DID, at one time, propose to have laid before you, for your further Satisfaction, a short Abstract of the Proceedings of every Session of the present Parliament; and had indeed, not without some trouble, digested and prepared the principal Events for your Perusal: but finding, that such a Recital of Parliamentary Proceedings could not but be attended with Dryness, and perhaps an Appearance of Tedioufness, which by all means I should wish to avoid, I resolved to refer you to the printed Votes, incontestable Vouchers for the Truth of what I say to you. Hence will indisputably appear (what you have but too severely felt) the intolerable Load this poor Nation has all along groan'd under; hence will appear the prodigious Grants that have been annually given for the Maintenance of pacifick Fleets, standing Armies, Subsidies to foreign Princes for Deficiencies complain'd of, for extraordinary or secret Services, for Votes of Credit, and for many other Articles too numerous to insert. Hence will you see, in the very Beginning of this Parliament, thirty thousand Seamen,
and

and twenty-six thousand Land-Forces, voted necessary at a time, when, but a few days before, we were told from the Throne, "That his Majesty was only engaged, by his good Offices, to make up the Differences in *Europe*." Hence will you likewise see, an Examination into Publick Accounts, by a select Committee, constantly refused; and even the last Session alone will furnish you with numerous and melancholy Instances of Negatives put on every Enquiry, proposed on every Light that was desired into our Negotiations abroad, or into our Management at home.

THE Conduct of certain Gentlemen in the Bill for impowering his Majesty to raise Money at three *per Cent.* for redeeming the National Debt, will shew you how little desirous some People are of lessening that destructive Burthen, as they know how much their own Influence will decrease with it; and more particularly when we recollect, that, while that Affair depended, a Proposition was rejected, that had been intended to ascertain the good Effects of the Bill to the Publick, by the House's coming to a Resolution, that when the Interest of the National Debt should be reduced

reduced to three *per Cent.* some of the heavy Taxes should be taken off which oppress the Poor and the Manufacturers.

As I have taken Notice to you of the dangerous Multiplication of Penal Laws, I must beg your Indulgence for the mentioning of one Act, which was carry'd in the H----- of Co-----ns by so thin a House as 88 to 39, tho' of the most publick Concern of any that had for some Time come before the Consideration of Parliament: By this I mean the Smuggling Act, and which I am the more induced to mention, on account of the Opposition it met with in another House, from two noble Lords, whose great Abilities and consummate Knowledge in the Laws of this Country, must make them allowed to be most able Judges of the good or bad Tendency of such new ones as come under their Consideration. As the Speech of one of those Lords, who now so eminently presides in the greatest Court in this Kingdom, has been made publick, I shall beg leave to refer you to it, for the best Information you can receive of the Objections to which this Bill was liable; and as this Speech is fraught
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with Sentiments worthy of one so well acquainted with the Foundations of the Freedom of this Constitution, and who, I am sure, cannot be charged, in this Instance, with any Party-Prejudice, it must give a singular Satisfaction to all who read it. By him it was thought, *one of the most severe and dangerous Bills that ever was passed by a British Legislature, and such as would subject every Man in the Kingdom to the Danger of being committed to Prison, by a single Justice of Peace, without Bail or Mainprise, of being convicted as a Smuggler; and all this without ever being guilty of any one Overt-Act, except that of travelling properly armed for his Defence, and having the Misfortune to meet with two Friends on the Road, armed in the same manner, in case any two Rogues of Informers, who are to get 150 l. perhaps 250 l. by their Perjury, shall swear that this honest Man and his Friends were assembled and armed, in order to be aiding and assisting to the running of uncustom'd Goods.*

AND as an Attempt of so extraordinary a Nature should not escape unobserved, I cannot omit acquainting you with one Bill
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that was brought in last Sessions, which as the ruinous Effects which would have attended it were too glaring not to meet with uncommon Discouragement and Indignation from such as watch over your Liberties, so the very little Progress it made prevented its coming to the Notice of many People out of that House. This was a Bill for a compulsory Register of all such as should be deem'd Seamen, and in which, to go no further, there were no less than thirteen penal Clauses. It would have reduced two or three hundred Thousand of the Subjects, for the most part Electors of *Great Britain*, into a State of compleat Slavery ; and it must in a short Time have thrown every Election in the Kingdom into the Hands of a Minister : And the Race of *English* Sailors, the bravest and honestest the World can boast of, would have been made the first avow'd Sacrifices to despotick Power, in return for that Valour they have so often exerted for our Honour and Safety.

Thus, my dear Countrymen, having before you a View of your Situation, and of the Behaviour of those Gentlemen whom you have entrusted with your Liberties,

you are now, as I said, to be determin'd by Facts, not the Declamation of a Party-writer, who might be accused of attempting to prepossess or mislead your Judgments. I am indeed neither able nor desirous of doing either; and as I can solemnly protest, I am actuated by no other Motive than that of the publick Good in what I offer, I should scorn and detest any such Attempt. If your Condition appears such (which surely it must) as calls for an immediate Remedy, and the honestest and ablest Assistance to prevent the Evil from further diffusing itself: You will be at no Loss to determine whether those are most likely to be your Deliverers, who have contributed to your Misfortunes, and baffled the Attempts of all who would have prevented them; or such, who despising the insinuating Arts of Corruption, have stood up the persevering and resolute Assertors of your Trade, your Honour, and your Liberty.

BUT tho' the Necessity some Gentlemen must be soon under of having a recourse to your Favour, may force a Compliance with the National Desires next Sessions, from such as were before deaf to your Admonitions and Intreaties; and
should

should this happen with the Leave of their Patron, in perfect Confidence of defeating your Hopes in another Assembly, you will surely not allow yourselves to be imposed on by so low an Artifice, nor suffer their former Infamy to be blotted out by a Couzenage so affronting to your Discernment. Be assured, that whenever a House of Commons shall really be in earnest for a Place-bill, which only affects themselves, or for any other Measure so unexceptionable, so conducive to the publick Safety, they will meet with no Obstruction in their good Purposes from another House, as the only Influence that can occasion it must soon cease and determine, whensoever a House of Commons shall be uncorrupted.

THE Commons of *Great Britain* are the grand Inquest of this Nation, and when Virtuous will keep the most jealous Eye on the least Appearance of publick Fraud or Mismanagement. As grand Inquest, it is their Duty to make a strict Scrutiny into every publick Measure. Uprightness and Integrity will never shun Enquiry, and those only plead for Darkness, who know their Deeds are evil. To get Information, cannot possibly be attended with

with ill, it may with good Effects. Enquiries are the *Criterion* of publick Honesty. What then shall be our Resource, if this Spirit of Enquiry comes ever to be lull'd asleep, or impudently suppress'd? Fraud must then triumph over all Justice, and Parliaments become of no other Use, than what a worthy Member in the last Reign thought them; who being told on Occasion of the septennial Act, by a certain great Man, at that time in Power, *That it was thought necessary to alter the present Constitution of Parliaments*; and conceiving from this Introduction an Abolition of Parliaments was intended, made Answer, He was ready with all his Heart to Concur in it, but had one Scruple that stuck with him, which was, his Fear lest, when there was no Parliament, the King might not be so well supplied with Money.

Look round about you, my Countrymen, and consider the Decay of your Manufactures, the Increase of your Poor, the many other Symptoms which every one's Observation must suggest to him of a declining State. For however unable to judge of your own Interest the Court-Tools are constantly representing you, every
Man

Man can tell where his own Shoe pinches. These Things cannot be without their Cause; These Things cannot in this Country be without Mismanagement. Can Manufactures flourish in a Nation loaded with near fifty Million of Debt, and devoured with Taxes? Or can you now expect to be extricated out of these Misfortunes, by the Hands of those who themselves have contributed to them? Evils of this Kind every Day more and more beget their own Increase: Those who have plunged you into Difficulties can support themselves only by still adding to your Burthen: They are in the Situation of improvident Heirs, who the more they run in Debt, and lessen their Credit, must Support their Expences by paying the greater Usury.

CONSIDER you are now enter'd into a War, which as it was begun only at the irresistible Voice of the whole People, so must the Success of it be greatly at the Heart of every *Englishman*, to whom the Honour of this Country has been ever dear. But will that Honour be consulted by Those, will this War be carry'd on with Spirit by Those, whose Pusillanimity brought

brought on you that long Series of Outrages which occasion'd it, and who rather than grant you the Justice you demanded, would have prostituted the Rights and Honour of the Nation by an infamous Convention? Has their Conduct since discover'd any thing but a Series of Negligence, Absurdities and Ignorance? Was one proper Step taken previous to this War, tho' so long call'd for, tho' so long foreseen by every Man in the Nation? Has there been one Deed of Importance atchieved yet, besides what has been perform'd by that gallant Officer and worthy Patriot Admiral *Vernon*? Which must wholly be ascribed to his Personal Merit and Zeal for his Country, and so little intended by those in the Direction of our Councils, that it proves the most glaring Mark of their former Infamy. Are we from such Men to expect Satisfaction for our violated Honour, Reparation for our Damages and Expences, and Security for our Commerce? or rather, have we not much more Reason to dread some paltry Treaty, a disadvantageous Suspension of Arms, or a new Convention, as the Fruit of all our expensive Armaments?

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THO' I would hope a just Spirit is at length arising in some, whose high Stations give them a Right to interpose in our publick Counsels, that will open their Eyes to the indignant Usage their Country has met with from its *open and secret Enemies*, that will no longer suffer them to be misled by mistaken Friendships, or ill-timed attachment to those who may think their Safety consists in involving them in the same Imputation of Guilt, in the same publick Execrations with themselves. If any such there are, who with secret Displeasure have repined at our Calamities, who are desirous, who have made any efforts towards wiping off our national Reproach, let them give a publick Testimony of their Spirit, by acting up to the Dignity of their own Situations; now, and now only let them do justice to their own Honour.

WE have hitherto only had one of the least formidable Nations in *Europe* singly to cope with; a Circumstance uncommonly favourable on our Side, and, if improved with either Skill or Spirit, must have been productive of the most fortunate

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tunate and advantagious Events to this Nation. The brave Admiral just mention'd has proved this to the Conviction of every Man in the Kingdom, notwithstanding the late Attempts of the Ministerial Scribblers to lessen the Merit of his Actions, and ridicule the universal Acclamations of the People in his Praise. But should the Situation of *Europe* become such, as to engage us in a Struggle with *France*, who after a most ruinous War flourishes by its Commerce and Manufactures, and the Discharge of her Debts; while we, after the most Successful and Glorious one, have every Day more and more languish'd in the Decay of one, and under the Burthen of the other: I say, if it becomes our Fate to be thus engaged, what a Prospect shall we then have, if our Councils are thus directed? If Alliances become necessary, how shall they be formed by those, who have lost the Confidence of our Allies, by having negotiated themselves into a Maze of contradictory Treaties with every State in *Europe*? What Weight with its Neighbours can the Instances of any Nation be supposed to have, if under the Auspices of a Minister known to have beggar'd it
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at Home, and cowardly exposed its Reputation Abroad? A Minister, known by them to be detested Universally by the Nation over whose Affairs he presides; for the most part Supported and Protected from their Justice only by a Mercenary Faction; like *Cataline's* Crew, Accomplices with him in his Iniquity, or connected with him by Corruption. A Minister, who has robbed the Publick of the Counsels of the most universally-esteem'd, and undeniably the ablest Men amongst us; and who, when forced into a War, has deprived it of the Service of those of most known Abilities and Experience, and some of them such, to whose Fidelity, to whose Zeal and Resolution, this Royal Family once owed its greatest Support.

WOULD you again, my fellow Subjects, entrust your Safety in the hands of those who have approved of such Measures? who after so many Years Submission to the most inhuman, as well as indignant Usage, would have prostituted your Honour to the most contemptible of Nations? Who would have given up your Trade, and those Rights which God and Nature has given you in Common with the rest of

the World, to the Discussion of obscure and ignorant Commissaries? Will you again intrust yourselves in the Hands of those, who would have enslaved you with Excises, who pillage you with Taxes, who harraßs you with Soldiers? Men, who have opposed every Enquiry into Mismanagement that has been proposed; who have deny'd every one Paper, when desired, that could lay open such Transactions as they did not care should come to light? Will you, I say, entrust your Fortunes, your Liberty, your Posterity in such Hands? God forbid you should draw upon yourselves the Guilt of the two most enormous Crimes, *Suicide* in regard to yourselves, and *Parricide* in regard to your Country!

CONSIDER, my dear Countrymen, consider seriously, I conjure you, that your Conduct in the ensuing Choice of your Representatives will not only determine the Present, but, in all Probability, the future Fate of these Kingdoms. Our Affairs are now at a Crisis, and you must now decide whether you will transmit that Liberty to your Children, which your Ancestors handed down to

to you thro' Deluges of Blood, or intail on them perpetual ignominious Slavery.

THIS one Effort will now save your Country, which implores your Assistance. Reflect on this, and let not any mistaken Prejudices, much less the Influence of any dirty Gratuity for yourselves or Relations, make you give up this important Duty, your real, your only Interest on this Occasion. If any of you are actuated by more immediate Views of personal Interest, I beseech you to try the Experiment, if in a very short Time you will not reap such Fruits from a worthy Choice of your Members, as shall convince you of the Truth of that well grounded Proverb, *Honesty is the best Policy.*

THIS is an Exhortation unnecessary for me to make use of to the Freeholders of *Great Britain*; unnecessary indeed in almost every Place where Trade and Industry subsist: But as the Integrity of such will not alone be sufficient to avail us, I must more particularly recommend it to that Part of my Countrymen, who are so numerously represented

presented in Proportion to the small Share they bear in the publick Burthen, to consider how cruel, how unworthy it will be in them, to make use of the great Share they bear in the Legislature, by joining in the Destruction of that Constitution that has so remarkably indulged them. Think, my Fellow-Subjects, on the Ignominy those have treated you with, who for many Years past have notoriously kept an avow'd Broker to transact the Sale of you, as they would of their Cattle, to such as are again to make their Market of you? Can you reflect with Patience on this shameful Insult offer'd to you, by making you thus the Objects of such vile and execrable Bargains, which, when the great Business shall be accomplish'd (as must soon inevitably be the Case, if not prevented) must render you even in that Respect of no Price, of no Estimation?

LET it not then be said hereafter, that when the Electors of *Great Britain* so unanimously exerted their Zeal for Independence, Corruption met with such Protection, in one Corner only, as baffled the glorious Attempt. Now is your
Time

Time to wipe off, most effectually to wipe off, the Reproach that has been put upon you; now is your Time to convince Mankind, that no Borough in *England* can ever be sunk so low, as to think themselves unconcerned, unaffected by the Contest, when the Liberties of *Britain* are the Subject.

AND now, Gentlemen, to you must I beg leave to address myself, whose Estates, whose Credit in your respective Neighbourhoods, give you a Right to interfere in those Elections that are carrying on round about you. As you are most of you such, as by living chiefly in your own Counties within the Compass of your paternal Estates, are removed from those Views which only can pervert the Hearts of Men from an Attention to the publick Good, it will be needless in me to trouble you with any thing in Regard to your own personal Behaviour on the approaching Occasion, which there is no Room to doubt but will be most strictly right. What is next required of you, is, to be stirring and active in this great Cause, that now calls on you to rouse yourselves: And by so doing let me venture to assure you, that the important

portant Success of this Event may be clearly ascertained. Suffer not tamely that Affront to be offer'd you, as to see your Towns, tho' on all Sides furrounded by Country-Gentlemen of Reputation and Fortunes, represented by such whose Names you never heard of; some of them perhaps the low Clerks of an Office, the actual Servants of Commissioners of the Treasury or Admiralty: Can it be thought to be consistent with our Constitution, that such Men should be introduced into the House of Commons, which has been lately the Case? Is there any one who dares to assert, that such Persons are proper to examine the Accounts, nay sit in Judgment on the Conduct of those very Masters, whose Commands they receiv'd an Hour before with Submissiveness, with Trembling? I can, I need say no more on what so much excites my own Impatience, as it surely must your warmest Resentment.

LET me recommend it to you therefore, Gentlemen, to meet together, and concert such Measures amongst yourselves, as you shall think proper to be taken; that with one Accord you may

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most vigorously exert yourselves in the several Boroughs near you, in Support of honest and independent Candidates; make use of that Esteem, the Credit which you are entitled to from your neighbouring Electors, to promote a due Sense amongst them of that Duty which they owe to themselves and their Country. Few then will be so weak as to prefer a poultry Bribe of four or five Pounds to the good Opinion, Countenance, and Protection of their wealthy and esteem'd Neighbours. If any such unworthy Wretches are found, as will, like *Esau*, sell their Birth-right for a Mess of Pottage, let them be treated as excommunicate, as the Betrayers, as the Pest of the Society they belong to: Let no Commerce be carried on with them, but let them bear their Mark like the murderous *Cain*, that all who meet them may know their Reproach, and avoid them with Scorn, with Detestation.

THUS, Gentlemen, by a proper and spirited Conduct (which Heaven dispose you to pursue) may that Corruption, which now like a Deluge seems to sweep all before it, be render'd utterly impo-

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rent, and turn only to the Confusion of its Promoters.

THE Crown now in Possession of vast Revenues for Life, of almost universal Influence, what is it not, with a Parliament at its Devotion, able to do? I am confident his present Majesty would himself detest knowingly to make use of such a Power to our Hurt; but whenever we shall be wholly at the Mercy of our Kings, we are in Reality equally Slaves with the most abject Vassals of the *Great Turk*. No People can be called free, any longer than they have the Power of redressing their own Grievances, of doing themselves Justice, and even of vindicating their Liberty by Force, if oppressed by their Rulers. It is not the Lenity of their Governors that denominates a People free: The *Romans* were not a jot less Slaves under *Augustus* than under *Nero*.

You had formerly always one Resource against the Oppression, the Tyranny of your Rulers; that was the Spirit, the Opposition of the People: A lamentable Resource indeed! but such as has been

been more than once exerted with Justice, and it has been exerted with Success: I may boldly say it has been exerted with Justice; and to its being exerted with Success, we owe the Happiness of having the present Royal Family on the Throne.

A L A s ! how is our Situation changed? Should a Time arise, when the Guardians of our Rights shall basely betray them, when they shall forfeit by so doing the Trust delegated to them, but which it is in your Power formally to revoke; if Tyranny should publicly raise her Head, and Resistance become the only Resource left for the Preservation of your Liberty; how then can you redress your selves? how exert your wonted Strength, when surrounded by mercenary Armies, canton'd out in every County and considerable Town throughout the Kingdom? If you should then submit, you must be undone; if you should resist, it would probably be the Means to bind your Chains the faster.

THESE Considerations, all these melancholy Considerations, my Countrymen, point out the Importance of the

ensuing Elections. Now is your Time to shew your Regard for your Country, who by you only expects to be saved. Now is your Time to shew a true, an effectual Regard for the *Hanover* Succession, by the choice of a Parliament, who shall fix their Throne, there only to be firmly establish'd, in the Hearts and Affections of the People of *England*.

CHUSE therefore from amongst your Neighbours, Men of approved Abilities and Integrity; or if you throw your Eyes on any who have not had an Opportunity of giving a publick Testimony of their Behaviour, let them be such as the Independency of their Fortunes shall set above the Baits of Corruption; such as are not likely by Extravagance or Vanity to sue meanly for the Emoluments or gaudy Trappings of a Court; let them be such amongst your Neighbours, whose Hospitality, whose Charity, and whose Virtues in private Life, promise Disinterestedness and Integrity in their publick one.

CHUSE such Gentlemen to represent you, whose Interest is blended with yours, who feel the Burthen of Taxes,
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the Decay of Trade, equally with your selves; not Men who flourish by your Poverty, who share in the Spoils of their Country, whose Luxury is pamper'd by what is drain'd from you; who receive their Salaries, their Pensions, the Wages of their Corruption, from your Misery. These are Men who mock at publick Calamities, who avowedly ridicule all Regard for your Interest, who endeavour to laugh publick Spirit out of the World, as the immature Notion only of Novices and Striplings: Men so abandon'd, as openly to declare their Disapprobation of those Measures they have prostitutely given their Votes next Day in Favour of. Can you do otherwise, my Countrymen, than reject Men of this Stamp with Contempt, with Indignation? It is not now the idle Contest of Parties, whose Names neither you nor themselves have often understood, and where, whatever Side prevail'd, the People have got nothing by the Bargain. No, my Friends, every thing that should be dear to the People of *England* is now at Stake. We have liv'd to hear a single Gentleman exhort his Legions, in the most awful Assembly, to protect him against any Enquiry, by directly

rectly telling them, to consider the Question in no other Light, but as he was affected, as he was pointed out by it; this personal Consideration only was to determine their Resolutions: This being the Case, the Contest is now notorious, is now avowed, between Independence and Liberty against Corruption and Slavery; and sure an *Englishman* cannot hesitate a Moment, which Cause he shall espouse.

I HAVE now but one Thing further to recommend to you; that is, to insist on the parliamentary Attendance of those you think proper to chuse: Times like these require Vigilance, Activity and Perseverance in the Guardians of the Publick; for such your Representatives are, or ought to be. Judge then how inconsistent with the Duty of Guardians, are Sloth, Neglect and Despair. Whatever Conformity with your Sentiments Gentlemen may seem to express, they act very unworthy of them, if thro' the Vanity only of having a Seat in Parliament they offer themselves to your Choice, without a Resolution of giving a constant Attendance to that high Duty they are called to. If their Affairs are so circumstanced as to become Avocations from that Attendance, they do
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wrong in undertaking the Charge that requires it ; if their Avocations be no other than their own Amusements, surely they become most criminal. *He who is not with me is against me*, was justly said ; and he who does not do all in his Power to prevent an Evil, does in effect in some degree commit it. *The Publick is never to be despair'd of*, was a most spirited and useful *Roman Maxim*. We our selves have seen the resolute Perseverance of a Minority in Parliament, when supported by the national Voice, defeat the most destructive and daring Attempts of Oppression, with all her numerous and venal Train, in the infamous Excise Scheme.

THE Experience of every Sessions may shew you, by how small a Majority Questions of high Importance have been carry'd by the Court in a thin House, which by the Attendance of six or a dozen Members might have been prevented : And it is a constant Observation, that Bills that carry great Unpopularity with them, have been generally reserved by the Court for the latter End of a Session, when Opportunity has been taken, from the Absence of the Country Members, to execute their
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mischievous Projects with less Alarm, with less Opposition.

HAVING now, my dear Countrymen, detain'd you so long, I shall only add my fervent and unfeigned Wishes for your Happiness and Safety; and may that Genius, which has so often almost miraculously rescued this Nation from the Jaws of Slavery, dispose the Electors of *Great Britain* to become the Instruments of restoring their Country to its ancient Glory and Splendor in *Europe*, and to its domestick Happiness, Trade, Riches, and the eternal Security of its Liberty.

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